

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 168013

FOLLOWING REPEAT JERUSALEM 1817 (AT REQUEST OF AMCONSUL  
JERUSALEM) ACTION USICA WASHDC SECSTATE WASHDC INFO  
WHITE HOUSE JULY 3.

QUOTE: UNCLAS JERUSALEM 1817

USICA

USICA FOR PBM/GF, PGM/PPN, VOA/PN

DEPT PASS NIACT IMMEDIATE ALL NEAR EAST AND NORTH AFRICAN POSTS

E.O. 11652: N/A

SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE SPEECH AT STATE DINNER  
AT THE KNESSET - JULY 2, 1978

1. MR. PRIME MINISTER, MRS. BEGIN, MR. SPEAKER, MRS. SHAMIR,  
HONORED GUESTS AND FRIENDS. THERE WAS ONE PART OF PUBLIC LIFE THAT I  
ALWAYS FEARED THE MOST IN AMERICA, AND THAT WAS ON THOSE RARE  
OCCAIONS WHEN I WAS DIRECTED TO FOLLOW HUBERT HUMPHREY. TONIGHT I  
FOUND ANOTHER ORATOR THAT I VERY MUCH FIND IT DIFFICULT TO FOLLOW.  
I KNOW I SPEAK FOR EVERYONE HERE, FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF MY COUNTRY  
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PAGE 02 STATE 168013

WHEN I SAY YOUR WORDS ARE WORDS THAT WE ENDORSE FULLY AND YOUR PLEA  
FOR PEACE IS AS ELOQUENT AS ANY OF US HAVE EVER HEARD. THANK  
YOU SO MUCH. (APPLAUSE)

2. I BRING TO THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL THE BEST WISHES, THE AFFECTION,  
AND THE CONGRATULATION OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE PEOPLE OF  
MY COUNTRY.

3. IT IS A SPECIAL JOY TO ME TO RETURN TO ISRAEL - AND  
IT IS A SPECIAL JOY FOR MY WIFE AND FOR MY DAUGHTER TO VISIT  
ISRAEL FOR THE FIRST TIME, TO REPRESENT THE PRESIDENT AND TO  
HAVE THE HNOOR TO SPEAK IN THIS HISTORIC HALL OF DEMOCRACY,  
THE KNESSET.

4. THIRTY OF MY FELLOW CITIZENS AND I HAVE COME TO ISRAEL AS  
REPRESENTATIVESOF YOUNG NATION, TO JOIN AN ANCIENT PEOPLE IN  
THE CELEBRATION OF A COMMON DREAM. IN YOUR 30TH ANNIVERSARY  
YEAR, WE REJOICE WITH YOU. WE SHARE YOUR PRIDE. WE HONOR  
YOUR ACHIEVEMENTS AND ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WE  
SAY TO THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL: CONGRATULATION, MAZAL TOV.

5. MR. PRIME MINISTER AND MR. SPEAKER: WE ARE ESPECIALLY  
GRATEFUL TO YOU FOR YOUR WARMTH AND YOUR GRACIOUS HOSPITALITY.  
MY CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, HAVE BEEN WARM,  
HELPFUL, AND HAVE STRENGTHENED OUR FRIENDSHIP EVEN MORE, AND  
I LOOK FORWARD TO OUR MEETING TOMORROW.

6. IN MY OFFICE IN THE WHITE HOUSE, IN AN HONORED PLACE, IS  
A GIFT PRESENTED TO ME BY THE PRIME MINISTER ON HIS FIRST VISIT  
TO THE WHITE HOUSE: IT IS AN OIL LAMP AND CLAY PITCHER  
FROM THE PERIOD OF THE PATRIARCHS.

7. I THOUGHT ABOUT THAT GIFT THIS MORNING WHEN I VISITED  
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PAGE 03 STATE 168013

BEERSHEVA WHERE ABRAHAM LIVED. ONE CANNOT VISIT ISRAEL; ONE  
CANNOT WALK THESE HILLS; OR STAND IN THE CITY OF DAVID, JERUSALEM,  
WITHOUT A PROFOUND SENSE OF THE HISTORY THAT ECHOES FROM THIS  
LAND.

8. ISRAEL IS A NEW NATION BUT IT'S THE FULFILLMENT OF AN AGE-  
OLD DREAM. ON ISRAEL'S INDEPENDENCE DAY THIS YEAR AMERICANS  
CELEBRATED IN THE STREETS OF NEW YORK WITH BANNERS THAT SAID,  
"IT IS GREAT TO BE 30 AFTER 5,000 YEARS."

9. FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT ONCE SAID:

10. "LIVES OF NATIONS ARE DETERMINED, NOT BY THE COUNT OF  
YEARS, BUT THE LIFETIME OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT. THE LIFE OF A  
MAN IS THREE-SCORE YEARS AND TEN, A LITTLE MORE, A LITTLE LESS.  
BUT THE LIFE OF A NATION IS THE FULLNESS OF ITS WILL TO LIVE."

11. NO ONE WHO WAS WITNESS TO THE STRUGGLE TO FOUND THIS NATION;  
NO ONE WHO HAS SEEN YOUR COURAGE THROUGH FOUR BITTER WARS; NO  
ONE WHO HAS VISITED A KIBBUTZ SUCH AS I DID THIS MORNING, AND  
FEELS THE DEEP COMMITMENT WITHIN THE HEARTS OF THE ISRAELI PEOPLE  
TO THIS LAND, CAN EVER DOUBT THAT ISRAEL WILL LIVE FOREVER.

(APPLAUSE)

12. IN OUR LIFE TIME THERE HAS BEEN NO MORE PROFOUND SYMBOL OF MAN'S COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM -- TO DIGNITY AND TO JUSTICE -- THAN THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH STATE. FOR 30 YEARS, ISRAEL HAS KEPT ALIVE AN IDEAL -- FIRST PROCLAIMED BY THE PROPHETS -- WHICH REMAINS THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY BELIEF TODAY OF OUR TIMES THAT THE RIGHT OF HUMAN BEINGS TO BE FREE IS NOT A PRIVILEGE GRANTED BY A STATE, BUT IS A GIFT FROM THE HAND OF GOD.

13. FROM THE MOMENT OF YOUR FOUNDING, ISRAEL HAS NEVER KNOWN A DAY OF GENUINE PEACE. IF THERE EVER WAS A NATION THAT COULD HAVE RATIONALIZED SUSPENDING CIVIL LIBERTIES BECAUSE OF AN EXTERNAL THREAT; IF THERE EVER WAS A GOVERNMENT THAT UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 168013

COULD HAVE JUSTIFIED SUPPRESSING DISSENT, AND I MUST SAY MR. PRIME MINISTER YOU DO NOT SUPPRESS DISSENT, IN THE NAME OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY, IT WAS THIS EMBATTLED NATION. YET THIS VERY BUILDING IN WHICH WE MEET -- YOUR FREE PRESS, YOUR OPEN DEBATE, AND THE ELECTIONS HELD LAST YEAR -- ALL PROCLAIM THAT ISRAEL IS A FLOURISHING DEMOCRACY TODAY.

14. PEOPLE TALK ABOUT THE MIRACLE OF THE JEWISH STATE. THEY CITE DESERTS TRANSFORMED INTO FORESTS AND FARMS. THEY POINT TO THE CITIES, CARVED OUT OF BEDROCK AND SWAMP. THEY SPEAK OF A NATION, 30 YEARS OLD, BUT ALREADY A WORLD LEADER IN THE SCIENCES, AND THE ARTS, AND TECHNOLOGY. AND ALL THOSE ACCOMPLISHMENTS ARE WONDERFUL AND ALL ARE REASONS FOR PRIDE.

15. BUT THE TRUE MIRACLE OF THE JEWISH STATE IS THE UNYIELDING DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE -- NO MATTER WHAT THE THREAT, OR THE BURDEN -- TO LIVE AS FREE MEN AND WOMEN IN A FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATE.

16. FOR 2 BILLION PEOPLE IN OTHER DEVELOPING NATIONS WHO ARE STRUGGLING TO BREAK THE BONDS OF MASS MISERY, ISRAEL IS PROOF THAT A FREE SOCIETY CAN BEST MEET HUMAN NEEDS. IN 30 YEARS, A NATION OF REFUGEES HAS BUILT A CIVILIZATION. ISRAEL'S EXAMPLE SHOWS THAT FREEDOM IS NOT AN ABSTRACT THEORY, BUT THE MOST EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT EVER DEvised FOR ADVANCING THE WELFARE OF MAN.

17. IT IS ESPECIALLY FITTING THAT IN THIS VERY WEEK AMERICANS ARE PREPARING TO COMMEMORATE OUR OWN INDEPENDENCE DAY. FOR WE ARE THE HEIRS TO A COMMON TRADITION OF FREEDOM, AND OUR TWO NATIONS ARE JOINED BY A UNIQUE HISTORIC BOND.

18. THE EARLY PURITANS, WHO CAME TO AMERICAN IN THE 1600'S UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 05 STATE 168013

SEEKING RELIGION FREEDOM, VIEWED THEMSELVES AS THE ANCIENT ISRAELITES IN SEARCH OF THE PROMISED LAND. THEY CALLED THEIR NEW COUNTRY, "CANANN," AND SPOKE OF THE COVENANT THAT THEY HAD MADE WITH GOD. IN 1776, WHEN THOMAS JEFFERSON, AND JOHN ADAMS AND BENJAMIN FRANKLIN WERE ASKED BY THE NEW CONGRESS TO DESIGN A SEAL FOR OUR COUNTRY, THEY SUGGESTED THE HEBREW PEOPLE CROSSING THE RED SEA, WITH MOSES STANDING ON THE OTHER SIDE.

19. MY COUNTRY WAS FOUNDED NEARLY TWO HUNDRED YEARS BEFORE THE MODERN JEWISH STATE. BUT THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA OWE ISRAEL AN ANCIENT DEBT. AS ONE HISTORIAN PUT IT, "THE HEBRAIC MORTAR CEMENTED THE FOUNDATION OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY."

20 AS AMERICANS WATCHED THE STRUGGLE FOR ISRAELI INDEPENDENCE WE SAW OUR OWN HISTORY AS A PEOPLE UNFOLDING AGAIN. FOR JEW AND NON-JEW ALIKE, THE CREATION OF THE JEWISH STATE WAS A VICTORY IN OUR LIVES AS WELL. AND FOR ALL AMERICANS IT WAS A MOMENT OF PRIDE WHEN PRESIDENT TRUMAN RECOGNIZED THE NEW STATE OF ISRAEL JUST 11 MINUTES AFTER ITS BIRTH. IT WAS MY PRIVILEGE TO BRING WITH ME FROM THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA THE ORIGINAL, HANDWRITTEN STATEMENT OF RECOGNITION DRAFTED BY PRESIDENT TRUMAN WHICH WILL REMAIN ON DISPLAY IN ISRAEL FOR THE NEXT YEAR. (APPLAUSE).

21. I TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER TODAY I DID IT FOR TWO REASONS; FIRST BECAUSE OF ITS HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE, AND SECONDLY, HARRY DID IT IN THREE SIMPLE DECLARATIVE SENTENCES. AND SOMEHOW DIPLOMACY HAS LOST THE ABILITY TO JUST STATE THINGS DIRECTLY, AND IT'S A GOOD EXAMPLE FOR THE FUTURE IF WE WOULD BUT FOLLOW IT.

22. WE STOOD TOGETHER AND WE STAND TOGETHER TODAY. OUR SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL CARRIES ON A 56-YEAR-COMMITMENT BY OUR CONGRESS TO THE JUSTICE OF A JEWISH HOMELAND; SUSTAINED BY THE DEEDS AND PEDGES OF SEVEN PRESIDENTS; AND RATIFIED IN THE HEARTS OF AMERICAN PEOPLE. NO OTHER CAUSE; NO OTHER CONCERN CAN SEVER THE SPECIAL BOND THAT UNITES ISRAEL AND AMERICA TODAY.  
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 168013

23. THERE HAVE BEEN MOMENTS DURING THIS RELATIONSHIP WHEN WE HAVE DISAGREED OVER HOW TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECVTIVES WE SHARE. BUT EVERY TIME, WE HAVE EMERGED FROM THESE TIMES OF TESTING WITH OUR FIRENDHSIP EVEN STRONGER, FIRMER, AND MORE SECURE. THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ISRAEL AND MY COUNTRY WILL ALWAYS ENDURE.

24. FOR 30 YEARS ISRAEL HAS BEEN A STRONGHOLD OF DEMOCRACY;  
AND AN UNSHAKEABLE FRIEND AND ALLY. THE UNITED STATES IS  
STRONGER TODAY BECAUSE OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE JEWISH STATE.

25. AND I WOULD LIKE TO REPEAT TO YOU THE WORDS PRESIDENT  
CARTER SPOKE TO PRIME MINISTER BEGIN, AND NEARLY A THOUSAND  
AMERICANS AT THE WHITE HOUSE CELEBRATION OF YOUR INDEPENDENCE  
DAY.

26. HE SAID THIS: "FOR THIRTY YEARS WE HAVE STOOD AT THE SIDE OF  
THE PROUD AND INDEPENDENT NATION OF ISRAEL. I CAN SAY WITHOUT  
RESERVATION, AS THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THAT WE WILL  
CONTINUE TO DO SO, NOT JUST FOR ANOTHER 30 YEARS, BUT FOREVER."

27. OURS IS NOT JUST A FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN TWO GOVERNMENTS,  
BUT BETWEEN TWO PEOPLES; TWO DEMOCRACIES; TWO CULTURES; LEARNING  
FROM EACH OTHER WITH MUTUAL RESPECT.

28. WE ARE JOINED BY THE TIES OF HISTORY, OF KINSHIP, AND  
LOVE THAT TOUCH MILLIONS OF CITIZENS IN BOTH OUR NATIONS AND MOST  
OF US IN THIS HALL.

29. OUR COMMON VALUES AND COMMON IDEALS UNITE US IN THEIR  
DEFENSE TODAY.

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PAGE 07 STATE 168013

30 WE ARE NATIONS OF REFUGEES. WE ARE THE CHILDREN OF THE  
DISPOSSES. AND WE DO NOT FORGET OUR PAST. NO TWO NATIONS  
IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD HAVE WELCOMED MORE IMMIGRANTS TO  
THEIR SHORES THAN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. AND IN ISRAEL WE CANNOT  
FORGET THAT SO MANY OF THEM ARE SURVIVORS OF THE HOLOCAUST.

31. "ONLY THE JEWISH PEOPLE." GOLD MEIR ONCE SAID, "HAVE  
HAD SO MUCH INTIMATE KNOWLEDGE OF BOXCARS, AND OF DEPORTATION  
TO UNKNOWN DESTINATIONS." THAT MEMORY KEEPS US FROM EVER  
BEING INDIFFERENT TO THE PLIGHT OF THE EXILED, AND THE  
REFUGEE, TODAY. WE ARE NOT NEUTRALS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR  
HUMAN RIGHTS.

32. AFTER 2,000 YEARS OF EXILE, THERE IS NO MORE COMPELLING  
CLAIM ON THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WORLD THAN THAT OF JEWS IN  
OTHER NATIONS DENIED THEIR RIGHT TO EMIGRATE TO ISRAEL TODAY.  
THIS IS NOT ONLY A JEWISH ISSUE. IT IS A MORAL ISSUE AS  
OLD AS THE SCRIPTURES; AND IT IS A LEGAL ISSUE AS CLEAR AS  
THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. TOGETHER WITH THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL,  
WE CALL ON ALL NATIONS IN THE WORLD WHICH DENY JEWS, AND  
OTHERS, THE RIGHT TO EMIGRATE AND OTHER BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS,  
TO "UNLOOSE THE HEAVY BURDENS AND LET THE OPPRESSED GO FREE."

(APPLAUSE)

33. AND NO PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE IN HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE DIGNITY OF MAN CAN STAND SILENT IN THE FACE OF TERRORISM. WE CONDEMN THE ATROCITIES WE SAW IN THIS CITY FOUR DAYS AGO. THIS MORNING I VISITED THE VICTIMS OF LAST WEEK BOMBING. THEY ARE INNOCENT PEOPLE, BUT IT DOESN'T TELL THE STORY. OLDER LADIES, MANY OF THEM BURNED MERCILESSLY, WILL BEAR THOSE SCARS FOR LIFE. YOUNG MEN IN THEIR PRIME, ONE BADLY SHATTERED WITH HIS BROTHER DEAD. AN ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD ARAB BOY, FIGHTING TO SAVE ONE OF HIS LEGS, TOTALLY INNOCENT, PUNISHED APPARENTLY FOR PLAYING IN THE STREET. NO PURPOSE OR GOAL CAN JUSTIFY THEIR SUFFERING. NOTHING CAN JUSTIFY THE LOSS OF THOSE WHOSE LOVED ONES WERE KILLED. THOSE WHO MAKE WAR ON  
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 168013

INNOCENTS, COMMIT A CRIME -- NOT JUST AGAINST THEIR VICTIMS -- BUT AGAINST DECENCY ITSELF. THERE IS ONLY ONE POSSIBLE RESPONSE BY CIVILIZED PEOPLE TO TERRORISM, AND WE CONDEMN PLO TERRORISM TOTALLY AND ABSOLUTELY (APPLAUSE). WE ALSO CONDEMN THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE ACTS OF TERROR AND THOSE WHO CLAIM CREDIT FOR THEM.

34. OF ALL THE VALUES AND THE COMMITMENTS WE SHARE, NONE UNITE US MORE TODAY THAN THE HOPE FOR A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. NO PEOPLE IN THE WORLD YEARN FOR PEACE MORE THAN YOU DO.

35. I KNOW FROM MY HOURS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER THAT NO LEADER WILL WORK MORE TIRELESSLY TO SEIZE THIS MOMENT WHEN IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO BRING PEACE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE MIDDLE EAST THAN YOUR PRIME MINISTER (APPLAUSE). ON NOVEMBER 20 HE SPOKE TO THE WORLD FROM THIS BUILDING AND SAID:

36. "WE HAVE ONE ASPIRATION AT HEART, ONE DESIRE IN OUR SOULS, TO BRING PEACE; PEACE TO OUR NATION, WHICH HAS NOT KNOWN IT FOR EVEN ONE DAY SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE RETURN TO ZION; AND PEACE TO OUR NEIGHBORS, TO WHOM WE WISH ALL THE BEST."

37. NO THEME RUNS THROUGH JEWISH TEACHING MORE THAN A HATRED OF WAR. I HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF JOINING IN A SEDER THIS YEAR. AND I WAS STRUCK THAT EVEN IN THE MIDDLE OF A CELEBRATION OF ISRAEL'S FREEDOM 10 DROPS OF WINE WERE SPILLED FOR, AS THE HAGADAH SAID: "HOW CAN WE FULLY REJOICE AS WE CELEBRATE ISRAEL'S FREEDOM, WHEN WE KNOW THAT OUR REDEMPTION INVOLVED THE SUFFERING OF THE EGYPTIANS?".  
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 168013

38. AND I THOUGHT OF AN INTERVIEW I HAD WITH AN ISRAELI SOLDIER FOLLOWING THE SIX DAY WAR, SURELY ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE PASSAGES EVER WRITTEN ABOUT A WAR. THE ISRAELI SOLDIER SAID: "WHEN THE FIGHTING BEGAN AND THE MOUNTAINS AROUND EIN GEV BEGAN TO SPIT FIRE, A GROUP OF OUR RECONNAISSANCE TROOPS ON ONE OF THE HILLS NEXT TO THE SYRIAN BORDER WAS BUSY PUTTING OUT A FIRE IN A LITTLE FIELD BELONGING TO AN ARAB FARMER. 'A FIELD IS A FIELD,' SAID ONE OF THE BOYS."

39. IN THAT STORY IS EXPRESSED THE TRAGEDY, AND THE HOPE OF THE MIDDLE EAST. FOR ISRAELI AND ARAB ALIKE, TOO MANY SONS AND DAUGHTERS HAVE BEEN LOST IN TOO MANY WARS. FOR ISRAELI AND ARAB ALIKE, PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AS THE PRIME MINISTER OBSERVED CAN BRING A JOYOUS HARVEST OF ENRICHMENT AND ADVANCEMENT.

40. WE ARE AT AN HISTORIC TURNING POINT TODAY IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. NEVER HAVE THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE BEEN SO FAVORABLE, NEVER HAVE THE DANGERS OF FAILURE BEEN SO GREAT. BUT TIME IS NOT ON OUR SIDE. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO DELAY. WE MUST NOT MINIMIZE THE URGENCY OF THE MOMENT. FOR AS PRESIDENT CARTER SAID: "THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE MAY BE SLIPPING AWAY. STATESMANSHIP AND COURAGE WILL BE REQUIRED ON THE PART OF ALL OF US WHO SEEK PEACE. THE MOMENT CANNOT BE LOST WITHOUT THE GREATEST RISKS FOR THE FUTURE."

41. IF WE DO NOT MOVE FORWARD WITH COURAGE; IF ALL SIDES SIMPLY ADVANCE MAXIMUM POSITIONS; IF THIS OPPORTUNITY SLIPS FROM OUR HANDS; WHO CAN SAY THAT IT CAN EVER BE RECLAIMED? WHO CAN ACCEPT THE TERRIBLE PRICE OF FAILURE?

TIME AND EVENTS HAVE BROUGHT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST WITHIN OUR REACH FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 30 YEARS.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 168013

FIRST, BECAUSE ISRAEL, BY ITS OWN FORTITUDE, HAS PROVEN THAT, AS A NATION, IT IS HERE TO STAY.

SECOND, THE INTERIM SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS NEGOTIATED AFTER THE 1973 WAR HAVE PROVED WORKABLE; THEY REMAIN INTACT TODAY; AND THEY'VE HELPED TO KEEP THE PEACE.

THIRD, THE UNITED STATES HAS BUILT NEW RELATIONSHIPS IN THE MIDDLE EAST THAT ALLOW US TO BETTER BRING THE WEIGHT OF OUR INFLUENCE TO BEAR ON BEHALF OF MODERATION AND PEACE. THOSE RELATIONSHIPS ARE IN THE INTEREST OF ALL OUR FRIENDS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

FOURTH, SEVEN MONTHS AGO, THE LEADER OF THE LARGEST ARAB NATION CAME TO THIS CITY AT YOUR INVITATION. HE WAS WARMLY RECEIVED BY YOUR PRESIDENT, YOUR PRIME MINISTER, AND YOUR PEOPLE. HE SPOKE, IN THIS VERY BUILDING, OF ACCEPTANCE, RECOGNITION, AND SECURITY FOR ISRAEL; OF A MIDDLE EAST IN WHICH JEWS AND ARABS WOULD CO-EXIST AS NEIGHBORS, INSTEAD OF ENEMIES. AND AFTER THE TALKS BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT, THE WORLD HEARD THE HISTORIC PROMISE FROM BOTH THESE GREAT LEADERS OF "NO MORE WAR."

42. DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEGUN. YES, THEY'VE BEEN TENTATIVELY AND THEY'VE BEEN FULL OF UPS-AND-DOWNS. BUT THE PEACE PROCESS IS UNDERWAY. AND IT MUST CONTINUE. THE "SPIRIT OF JERUSALEM" MUST PREVAIL. NEGOTIATIONS MUST ASSURE THAT THE PROMISE OF "NO MORE WAR" WILL BE FULFILLED.

43. WE BELIEVE THAT THE BEST WAY TO MAKE PEACE IS THROUGH DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS, AS THE PRIME MINISTER HAS SAID THIS EVENING, BETWEEN THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT. WE ARE BENDING ALL OUR EFFORTS  
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 11 STATE 168013

TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL.

44. WHEN NECESSARY, THE UNITED STATES IS WILLING TO BE A HELPFUL, MEDIATING PARTY. WE HAVE MADE AND WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE, CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS WHERE THEY MAY BE HELPFUL IN BRIDGING A GAP BETWEEN THE NEGOTIATORS, THEMSELVES. AS WE HAVE AGREED, ANY SUGGESTIONS WILL ONLY BE MADE AFTER CONSULTING WITH YOU, AND, AND WITH THE OTHER PARTIES.

45. NEGOTIATING IS A DIFFICULT, CHALLENGING, FRUSTRATING PROCESS. IT CAN ONLY SUCCEED WITH A SPIRIT OF GIVE AND TAKE, AND COMPROMISE.

46. ISRAEL PUT ITS PROPOSALS ON THE TABLE SEVERAL MONTHS AGO. DETAILED TALKS HAVE TAKEN PLACE BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL. WHEN ISRAEL PRESENTED ITS VIEWS, THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT MADE CLEAR ITS READINESS TO CONSIDER COUNTERPROPOSALS AND TO NEGOTIATE WITH AN OPEN MIND. WE HOPE AND EXPECT THE GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT WILL SOON OFFER FURTHER PROPOSALS. AND WE HOPE THAT EGYPT WILL CONTINUE THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THIS SAME CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT EACH SIDE SEEK IN THE OTHER'S PROPOSALS COMMON ELEMENTS FROM WHICH AGREEMENT CAN BE BUILT. I AM



CONFIDENT THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS CAN BE RESUMED IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL RESPECT.

47. FORTUNATELY, WE HAVE A POWERFUL ADVANTAGE IN THIS PROCESS. FOR THE ESSENTIAL BASIS FOR AGREEMENT HAS ALREADY BEEN ACHIEVED. AND THAT IS UN RESOLUTION 242 WHICH WAS UNANIMOUSLY ADPOTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND AGREED TO BE ALL NATIONS IN THIS CONFLICT. IT PROVIDES A COMMON TOUCHSTONE TO GUIDE THE ANTIIONS.

48. RESOLUTION 242 IS AN EQUATION. ON THE ONE HAND, IT RECOGNIZES THE RIGHT OF EVERY STATE IN THE AREA TO LIVE IN PEACE WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS FREE FROM THREATS OR ACTS OF FORCE. WE BELIEVE SUCH A PLEACE MUST INCLUDE BINDING UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 12 STATE 168013

COMMITMENTS TO NORMAL RELATIONS. IN RETURN, ISRAEL WOULD WITHDRAW FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THE 1967 WAR. WE BELIEVE THE EXACT BOUNDARIES MUST BE DETERMINED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES. THEY ARE NOT DETERMINED BY RESOLUTION 242.

49. BUT THESE PRINCIPLES OF 242 CANNOT BE VIEWED IN ISOLATION, OR APPLIED SELECTIVELY. TOGETHER, THEY FORM A FAIR AND BALANCED FORMULA AND STILL THE BEST BASIS FOR NEGOTIATING A PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBORS.

50. WE UNDERSTAND THE DIFFICULTIES THESE ISSUES POSE FOR ISRAEL. AND I AM REMINDED OF A STORY BY MARTIN BUBER IN WHICH THE MAGGID OF MEZRITCH DESCRIBED HOW HE LEARNED THE SECRET OF LOVE BY OVERHEARING THE CONVERSATION OF TWO PEASANTS. ONE TURNED TO THE OTHER AND SAID, "DO YOU LOVE ME?" AND THE SECOND REPLIED, "OF COURSE, I DO. WE'VE BEEN FRIENDS FOR YEARS." "TELL ME THEN," THE FIRST PEASANT ASKED, "WHAT IS IT THAT IS HURTING ME NOW?" THE SECOND REPLIED, "HOW CAN I KNOW, IF YOU DON'T TELL ME?" AND THE FIRST ANSWERED, "HOW CAN YOU SAY YOU LOVE ME IF YOU DON'T KNOW WHAT CAUSES ME PAIN?"

51. THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL CONFRONT PAINFUL DECISIONS IN THIS PROCESS. THEY INVOLVE NEGOTIATING THE FUTURE OF TERRITORIES WHICH HAVE BEEN OCCUPIED FOR A DECADE AND WHICH, IN THE ABSENCE OF PEACE HAVE PROVIDED A SENSE OF SECURITY. BUT NO ONE OF US CAN FORGET THE HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE EAST SIX YEARS AFTER THE 1967 WAR WHERE THERE WAS NO PROGRESS. AND THE NEXT WAR THAT FOLLOWED IN 1973.

52. AS WE HAVE OFTEN SAID, WE ARE CONVINCED THAT WITHOUT EVENTUAL WITHDRAWAL O ALL FRONTS, TO BOUNDARIES AGREED UPON IN NEGOTIATIONS AND SAFEGUARDED BY EFFECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, THERE CAN BE NO LASTING PEACE. ONLY ISRAEL CAN BE THE FINAL UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 13 STATE 168013

JUDGE OF ITS SECURITY NEEDS. ONLY THE PARTIES CAN DRAW THE FINAL BOUNDARY LINES. BUT IF THERE IS TO BE PEACE, THE IMPLICIT BARGAIN OF 242 MUST BE FULFILLED.

53. IN THE SAINI, ISRAEL HAS PROPOSED A PEACE TREATY IN WHICH THERE WOULD BE NEGOTIATED WITHDRAWAL AND SECURITY WOULD BE ACHIEVED WHILE RELINQUISHING CLAIMS TO TERRITORY. THIS APPROACH CAN BE APPLIED IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA.

54. THE ARABS ALSO FACE DIFFICULT AND PAINFUL DECISIONS. THEY MUST BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT CAREFULLY CONSTRUCTED SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AND THERE SHOULD BE STRONG LINKS BETWEEN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, AND JORDAN. THEY MUST ACCEPT PERMANENT PEACE AND ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST IN PEACE WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS. WE BELIEVE THAT A SOLUTION BASED ON THIS APPROACH -- NOT AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE -- WILL PROVIDE THE STABILITY AND SECURITY ESSENTIAL FOR PEACE SUCH AN AGREEMENT WILL TAKE TIME TO NEGOTIATE AND TO TEST. AND THAT'S WHY WE BELIEVE A PERIOD OF TRANSITION IS NEEDED.

55. REAL PEACE WILL CLEARLY SERVE ISRAEL'S SECURITY INTERESTS. BUT BOTH DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD, AND AFTER A PEACE IS SETTLED, ISRAEL'S NEED FOR CONCRETE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS MUST BE MET. ANY PEACE SETTLEMENT MUST INCLUDE CONTINUED, ASSURED, PERMANENT PROTECTION FOR ISRAEL. THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL ARE COMPLETELY UNITED ON THIS POINT.

56. THE AGREEMENTS OF THE PAST FOUR YEARS IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT DIFFICULT SECURITY PROBLEMS CAN BE RESOLVED. WE CAN DRAW ON THIS EXPERIENCE IN FUTURE AGREEMENTS. DEMILITARIZATION AND LIMITED FORCE ZONES HAVE HELPED TO KEEP THE PEACE IN THE SINAI AND ON THE GOLAN; THEY CAN HELP THE PEACE IN OTHER STRATEGIC AREAS AS WELL. THE POSSIBILITY OF SURPRISE ATTACKS CAN BE REDUCED BY EARLY WARNING SYSTEMS AND SURVEILLANCE.

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 14 STATE 168013

57. INTERNATIONAL FORCES AND OBSERVERS CAN MAINTAIN THE INTEGRITY OF PEACE AGREEMENTS AND ENSURE STABILITY. TECHNOLOGY MAY HELP SOLVE SOME PROBLEMS. A CONTINUING MILITARY PRESENCE IN STRATEGIC AREAS MIGHT SOLVE OTHERS. THE UNITED STATES HAS HELPED WITH THESE ARRANGEMENTS IN THE PAST. WE ARE PREPARED TO ASSIST AGAIN. AGREEMENTS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES COULD ENSURE ISRAEL'S SECURITY, AND WE'RE PREPARED TO

EXPLORE ALL POSSIBILITIES.

58. TO ACHIEVE AND GUARANTEE LASTING PEACE, ISRAEL'S STRENGTH MUST NEVER BE IN DOUBT. ISRAEL'S ABILITY TO DEFEND ITSELF MUST BE CLEAR. ISRAEL MUST BE SO STRONG THAT NO NATION WILL EVER BE TEMPTED TO TEST ITS STRENGTH. AND AMERICA IS COMMITTED TO A STRONG ISRAEL. (APPLAUSE)

59. SINCE THE WAR, THE UNITED STATES HAS AGREED TO OVER \$10 BILLION IN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL. UNDER THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, ONE-FIFTH OF ALL OUR ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE AROUND THE WORLD HAS COME TO THIS NATION. IN NEXT YEARS'S BUDGET, NEARLY HALF OF ALL OF OUR SALES CREDITS AND GRANTS FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT WILL GO TO ISRAEL. THIS IS AN UNPRECEDENTED AMOUNT, BUT WE HAVE NO REGRETS.

60. ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT, I PLEDGE TO YOU TONIGHT THAT AID FROM THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE. I PLEDGE TO THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT PERMIT YOUR SECURITY TO BE COMPROMISED IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE. AND I PLEDGE TO YOU THAT MY COUNTRY WILL NOT FAIL TO PROVIDE ISRAEL WITH ESSENTIAL AND CRUCIAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE, NOR WILL WE USE THAT ASSISTANCE AS A FORM OF PRESSURE.

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PAGE 15 STATE 168013

61. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, "PEACE," AS ALBERT EINSTEIN ONCE SAID, "CANNOT COME THROUGH FORCE, IT CAN ONLY COME THROUGH UNDERSTANDING." THAT IS A PROFOUND CHALLENGE FOR ALL PEOPLES IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

62. ANCIENT RIVALRIES MUST BE OVERCOME. FEARS AND SUSPICIONS ON ALL SIDES, BRED FROM THE HOSTILITIES OF THE PAST, MUST BE TRANSFORMED INTO NEW VISIONS OF UNDERSTANDING AND SYMPATHY. AND THE LONG-STANDING PROBLEMS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE MUST BE RESOLVED.

63. WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE DIFFICULTY OF THAT CHALLENGE. WE HAVE NO SMUGNESS ABOUT THE PROBLEMS IT ENTAILS.

64. BUT MORE THAN 5,000 YEARS OF HISTORY HAVE SHOWN THAT THE JEWISH PEOPLE ARE A PEOPLE OF UNDERSTANDING AND VISION, AND SENSITIVITY. THROUGH EXILE, AND PERSECUTION, AND EVEN GENOCIDE, YOU HAVE NEVER ABANDONED YOUR COMMITMENT TO JUSTICE AND THE DIGNITY OF ALL MANKIND.

65. AND I AM CONFIDENT THAT A PEOPLE OF THOSE TRADITIONS

UNDERSTANDS AND ACCEPTS THAT THE PALESTINIANS -- LIKE ALL PEOPLE -- HAVE THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DETERMINATION OF THEIR OWN DESTINY. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT A SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND WHICH WILL PROVIDE STABILITY AND SECURITY FOR EVERYONE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

66. THE PEACE WE SEEK IS NOT A MERE ABSENCE OF WAR, OR THE END OF BELLIGERENCY. TRUE PEACE MUST TRANSFORM, NOT JUST THE TWO NATIONS, BUT THE PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST. IT CANNOT BE WRITTEN IN DOCUMENTS ALONE. IT MUST BE WOVEN INTO THE FABRIC OF EVERYDAY LIFE.

67. THE PRESIDENT HAS STATED THAT SUCH A PEACE MUST INCLUDE: OPEN BORDERS; DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS; NORMAL TRADE, AND COMMERCE  
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 16 STATE 168013

AND TOURISM; FREE NAVIGATION; AND AN END OF ALL BOYCOTTS. THE CORNERSTONE OF NORMAL RELATIONS MUST BE A FORMAL RECOGNITION BY THE ARAB STATES OF ISRAEL'S NATIONHOOD.

68. FOR 30 YEARS PEACE HAS ELUDED THE NATIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST. SOME SAY IT'S BEYOND OUR REACH. THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY NO FORMULA CAN BE FOUND. OTHERS SAY THE PROBLEMS OF THE PALESTINIANS ARE INTRACTABLE. SOME SAY IT'S BEYOND OUR REACH. THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY NO FORMULA CAN BE FOUND. OTHERS SAY THE PROBLEMS OF THE PALESTINIANS ARE INTRACTABLE. SOME SAY THAT THE MIDDLE EAST IS DESTINED BY ITS HISTORY TO KNOW ONLY WAR, AND THE THREAT OF WAR, FOR GENERATIONS. REAL PEACE THEY SAY, IS NOTHING BUT A DREAM.

69. BUT TO ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST, IN THE 30TH YEAR OF ISRAEL'S INDEPENDENCE, THE WORDS OF THEODORE HERZL STILL RING TRUE TODAY: "IF YOU WILL IT, IT IS NOT A DREAM."

70. FOR 30 YEARS, THE PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE HAD TO BEAR THE CRUSHING BURDEN OF EVER MORE COSTLY MILITARY NEEDS. WAR HAS ROBBED THIS REGION, NOT ONLY OF ITS SONS AND ITS DAUGHTERS, BUT OF TOO MUCH OF ITS FUTURE. TRUE PEACE CAN UNLOCK THE RESOURCES, THE TALENTS AND THE IMAGINATIONS OF TWO ANCIENT PEOPLES.

71. NO NATION HAS MORE TO GAIN THAN ISRAEL. WHEN I VISITED YOUR COUNTRY IN 1973, I WAS MOVED BY THE FACT THAT EVERY LEADER I TALKED TO SPOKE IN TERMS OF MEETING THE REAL NEEDS, THE HUMAN NEEDS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE (TEXT: ISRAEL'S PEOPLE)

72. THIS MORNING, I PRESENTED TO PRESIDENT NAVON A GIFT FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN HONOR OF YOUR 30TH ANNIVERSARY: IT WAS A COPY OF THE FIRST BIBLE EVER PRINTED IN HEBREW IN THE  
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 17 STATE 168013

UNITED STATES. IT IS A SYMBOL OF THE FRIENDSHIP, RESPECT  
AND LOVE WE FEEL FOR THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL TODAY.

73. BUT THE GIFT WE HOPE FOR ISRAEL MOST IN THIS ANNIVERSARY  
YEAR IS THE GIFT FOR WHICH YOU HAVE PRAYED FOR 30 YEARS --  
THE GIFT OF PEACE.

74. FOR 30 YEARS, WE HAVE SHARED IN THE JOYS OF THIS GREAT  
NATION; WE HAVE TAKEN PRIDE IN YOUR ACHIEVEMENTS; AND WE HAVE  
FELT YOUR LOSSES AND YOUR PAIN. NOW, MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE,  
WE HOPE TO SHARE WITH ISRAEL IN THE FULFILLMENT OF A LASTING  
PEACE.

75. AMERICA WILL STAND WITH YOU IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE AND  
WE WILL REJOICE WHEN PEACE IS WON. AND WHEN THAT DAY COMES,  
IN THE WORDS OF ISAIAH, "THE WORK OF RIGHTEOUSNESS SHALL BE  
PEACE .....AND THE EFFECTS OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, QUIETNESS AND  
ASSURANCE FOREVER." SHALOM. (APPLAUSE)

76. AND NOW I WOULD ASK YOU TO RISE WITH ME AN TOAST TO  
THE PRESIDENT, AND YOUR SPEAKER, AND A TOAST TO THE PRIME  
MINISTER IF ISRAEL, MR. BEGIN OUR GOOD FRIEND; AND ABOVE ALL  
TO TOAST THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL AND THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE  
PEOPLES OF OUR TWO GREAT NATIONS. LE'HAIM\* NEWLIN  
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